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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6000

OCA FILE

OSC  
Sen Leahy

July 12, 1988

The Honorable George Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I plan to lead a delegation to the People's Republic of China between August 14 - August 31. My delegation will be interested in all facets of U.S.-China relations, China's relations with the Soviet Union, Japan, and other Pacific nations, as well as political, cultural, economic, human rights and other developments in China. We will also pursue a range of agriculture, trade, environment and education issues.

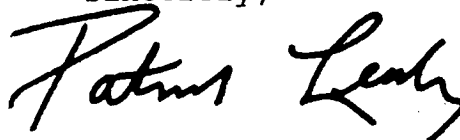
To make our visit as productive as possible, I would appreciate the assistance of the State Department in the preparation of a substantive briefing book. My delegation would benefit from unclassified briefing materials the Department could provide concerning the topics, issues and questions described on the attached list.

The responses would be most useful if they could represent the contributions of Defense, Agriculture, the CIA and other appropriate agencies.

So that my delegation has time to study these materials, I request that they be received by August 3.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,



PATRICK LEAHY  
Chairman

PJL/edn

cc: The Honorable Richard Lyng  
Secretary of Agriculture

The Honorable William Webster  
Director of Central Intelligence



## CODEL LEAHY VISIT TO CHINA

### ECONOMIC REFORM:

o How important is wage/price reform for future Chinese economic progress? What are the main reasons for going slow in this area? What effect will that have on overall Chinese development?

o What is the attitude of the party and central government bureaucracy to economic reform? How far can or does the leadership plan to go in decentralization of economic decisionmaking and the introduction of incentives for greater efficiency and management rationalization?

o What are the prospects for major increases in economic production? How successful is the economic reform in meeting consumer needs? Are expectations being raised faster than the capacity of the economy to deliver?

### AGRICULTURE:

o What are the prospects for Chinese agriculture? Will there continue to be a slowdown in the rapid rate of growth of the past decade? Will China once again become a major importer of grain and agricultural products?

o How extensive has decollectivization been? What are the modernization needs of Chinese agriculture, such as technology, expertise, better farming practices, improved fertilizers, different patterns of crop production, mechanization, and so forth? To what extent can the United States supply those needs?

o What are the prospects for US farm exports to China as agricultural modernization proceeds? Is US agriculture geared to take advantage of market possibilities in China?

### "OPEN DOOR POLICY":

o How committed is the Chinese leadership to the so-called "open door policy" of increasing economic interaction with the international economy? Has China truly put aside its past emphasis on economic "self-reliance?"

o Is the leadership prepared to tolerate the political-social values that often accompany economic interchange with Western oriented countries?

o What role does the Soviet bloc play in the Open Door policy?

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- o How important are the United States, Japan, and other Western-oriented developed countries to China's development plans?

- o What role do they play as a market for Chinese goods and as a source of finance, technology, training, and aid?

- o What are the main economic and trade issues in U.S.-Chinese relations? How does the US propose to resolve or otherwise deal with these issues?

- o What are the conditions for US investment in China at present? What are the trends in US investment in China and what are the prospects for growth over the next decade?

- o What are the trends in US-Chinese trade? What are the prospects for increases in US exports to China over the next decade, and in what sectors?

- o Why is there such a large difference between U.S. and Chinese figures on the bilateral flow of U.S.-China trade?

- o How important are international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank to Chinese development?

- o Why is China interested in joining the GATT? What are the main issues involved in China joining the GATT?

#### LEADERSHIP UNITY:

- o What are the main issues in dispute among senior Chinese leaders? Will these differences likely lead to significant changes in the make-up of the Chinese leadership following the passing of Deng Xioping?

- o What are the aims of the leadership in pursuing modernization and political/economic reform? What is driving them and how far and how fast are they willing to go?

- o What effect will anticipated leadership changes have on the course of future Chinese internal and external policies?

- o Do divisions among the leadership pose any serious threat to the future of political and economic reform? What leadership changes would be necessary to reverse or radically alter the reforms?

#### MILITARY:

- o What is the role of the military in Chinese modernization? What is the attitude of the senior Chinese military leadership to modernization and reform?

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- o Does the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) actually receive lower priority than other areas of the so-called four modernizations (i.e., agriculture, industry, science, technology, and defense)?

- o What are the reasons behind the streamlining and restructuring of the PLA and what progress has been made?

#### INTELLECTUALS/STUDENTS:

- o What is the role of the intellectuals in China's modernization? What is the attitude of the intellectuals towards political and economic reform? Is there a significant alienation of the intellectuals from the existing political system and the control of power by the Communist Party?

- o What are the sources of discontent seen in student demonstrations in recent years?

- o How serious are repeated complaints by students and intellectuals about corruption and nepotism in Chinese hiring and advancement practices?

#### HUMAN RIGHTS AND PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

- o What is the human rights situation in China at present, in light of the political reforms? Is there any significant trend toward greater legal protections from arbitrary state or party power?

- o Are there specific human rights cases of concern to the United States? Have we made any representations to the Chinese government on behalf of any specific human rights cases?

- o Are there still significant numbers of political prisoners in China? How many and under what conditions are they held?

- o Are private human rights monitoring or protection organizations allowed to function inside China? What restrictions are placed on their activities?

#### TIBET:

- o What are the main trends in China's policy toward Tibet? What does Beijing believe to be China's minimum role in Tibet? Is the Chinese leadership prepared to consider any outcome in Tibet short of ultimate control from Beijing?

- o Has there been a loosening or hardening in Chinese control of Tibet, especially since the beginning of protests and demonstrations?

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o Has China devoted more resources recent years to develop the material standard of living in Tibet? Have the Chinese initiated political, economic, cultural and social changes in Tibet aimed at altering the traditional Tibetan way of life?

o Is there an inherent contradiction between such Chinese government efforts and Tibetan demands to preserve their unique culture and way of life?

#### SOVIET-U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS:

o Inasmuch as rivalry with and hostility to the Soviet Union has represented a center piece of Chinese international security policy for 20 years, what is the impact on China of the changes in Soviet policy under Gorbachev?

o Is there a linkage between the changes in Soviet policy and the decline in Chinese defense spending and the cutback in Chinese military personnel over the past few years?

o Could the decline in Soviet pressure lead to a Sino-Soviet reconciliation? How far might reconciliation go?

o What effect would Sino-Soviet rapprochement have on U.S.-PRC security cooperation and overall US-Chinese relations??

o What, if any, concerns do the Chinese have about a possible substantial improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations over the next few years, including a significant easing of military tensions?

o What are specific bilateral foreign policy issues between China and the United States? What steps are underway to resolve or otherwise address these issues?

o How do the Chinese leaders perceive the United States as a world power? Is there any significant evidence they share alleged Japanese views of the US as a declining political, economic and military power? If so, how do such perceptions affect long term Chinese policies toward the United States?

#### INDOCHINA:

o What is China's current policy on relations with Vietnam, and possible settlement of the conflict in Cambodia?

o Where do Chinese and U.S. interests differ? Are the differences significant?

#### TAIWAN, HONG KONG, KOREA:

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- o What are the determinants of Beijing's generally moderate policies toward these areas in recent years?

- o Are they likely to continue following the death of Deng Xioping?

JAPAN:

- o How seriously do the Chinese view the alleged threat of Japanese militarism?

- o Is there a linkage between Chinese criticism of Japanese militarism and Chinese complaints over Japan's trade, aid and investment policies?

- o Where are Sino-Japanese political, security and trade relations heading over the next decade?

ARMS SALES TO THE MIDDLE EAST:

- o What are the motivations for the recently publicized Chinese arms sales to the Middle East?

- o Is U.S. political pressure and international criticism likely to lead to a change in China's behavior?

- o Should we anticipate further significant Chinese arms sales, including advanced weapons like missiles, to the Middle East, Persian Gulf or Southwest Asia?

ARMS CONTROL, NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

- o What are the reasons for greater Chinese activism in these areas in recent years? What are Chinese aims?

- o Are Chinese positions in these areas more compatible with U.S. or Soviet interests?

- o Do they reflect Chinese interest to be associated with an independent posture in world affairs, or do they represent some other Chinese motives?

- o What effect does Chinese opposition to SDI and its support for various nuclear-free zones have on the U.S. interests?